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Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *sisaok* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
[237] in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
[292] the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
[554] slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair. It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
* 556 the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
[883] upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
[578] otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its reward.

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* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
[537] fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[425] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
[532] the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral name.

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Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be.

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *tsaok* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart.

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *tsaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place.

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[16] the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *tsaok* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion

[16] The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1] [See cat. 116, facing p 218 – ANALYST]

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whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a *susaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin. Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence, this rule has been obeyed ever since.

Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).[1/1]

[17] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

[1/1] [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

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one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, consisting of *sisaok* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well-known *sisaok* songs.

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by poles and saddles, the *sisaok* troop down to the beach to meet the guests, led by a *siki*, who alone wears an apron of puffin beaks and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his tunes and the *siki* dances on the beach, while the supernatural whistle which has been sounding from the back-room of X's house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under cover of his blanket. After the *siki* has danced, the singers among the guests, and there are always enough of them to make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing one of their *siki*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes.

The Bella Coola *siki*, surrounded by a group of *sisaok*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *siki*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *sisaok* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *siki* revolves four times; twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Mulakila*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *siki* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

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PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Eagle down being blown over a *hamatsa* dancer

[facing P219]

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between the two societies. Presently the elderly *a'alk* returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *siki* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tutwinam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *a'alk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *a'alk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *a'alk* nor *sisaok* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the daytime and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be.

The coming of a *tutwinam* is one of the points of resemblance between *a'alk* and *sisaok* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *sisaok* have recently employed *tutwinam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *a'alk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *sisaok*

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a person has been in contact with supernatural beings to enable him to enter.

Ailsamka told them everything, that her mother had failed to teach her how to cut up black cod, "so *Łemoqwa* sent blackfish to catch me so that I could be taught," she said. "You must be very careful to cut them up properly or trouble will come upon you."

BC BB [226] [825]

The correct method, as taught by Raven, is to split the fish cleanly without severing the bones. *Ła-paaak*'s daughter had erred by cutting the one which is equivalent in a fish to the human collar-bone. She told them of the fish that abounded in *Łemoqwa*'s house; of the red-fish, which disobeyed their mother by playing outside the house so that their stomachs were often forced out from their mouths[n] and they floated up to the surface; of *Łemoqwa* himself and his large hat; and of the other denizens of the underworld. The people listened attentively and ever after cut up black cod in the prescribed fashion, though if *Ailsamka* had not been carried off to *Łemoqwa*'s house Raven's teaching would undoubtedly have been forgotten.

After being taken into his daughter's safe custody *Ła-paaak* gave a potlatch. He took for himself the name *Łemoqwa*, and at the same time reproduced in his own house as much as possible of what his daughter had described. Thus there were imitation fishes, especially the halibut, around the house, while the red-fish were shown as wooden models that could be drawn up to the roof by hidden strings representing the manner in which the fish float up to the surface of the ocean. *Łemoqwa*, himself, was shown wearing his large ball topped hat, of the type known as *Łiłoil*.[n]

While *Ailsamka* was under the water *Łemoqwa* had shown her *nuaak* whistles, and at this potlatch they were used while the girl was concealed within the back-room as a *nuaak* initiate.

BC [177] [556]

This was the[n] origin of the *nuaak* ceremonial, which spread in time from the *Usdmy* people to the Bella Coola. The name *Łemoqwa* passed to one of *Ła-paaak*'s descendants who, when he gave a potlatch, arranged

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BC BB [424] [292] [532]

[n] The red-fish is an unidentified deep-sea fish which dies in shallow water through lack of pressure.

[n] This style was always worn by *Łemoqwa* and *Alquntam* and, as many of the first people obtained their power from one or other of these beings, the prerogative of using such hats at potlatches is quite common. They are made of cedar roots, are waterproof, and are usually painted with one of the wearer's ancestral crests. When either *Łemoqwa* or *Alquntam* is shown on a totem-pole he is displayed with one of these hats.

[n] It will be noted that the narrator tacitly assumes any origin recorded in his myth to be the sole, or authentic one.

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the front-door facing the river, but has to leave the house through the trap beneath the enclosure where she sleeps. The Bella Coola consider it unthinkable for a girl to disregard these prohibitions, but if this should happen, she would be chased home by her parents, by the Guardian of the River, or, in fact, by any elderly member of the community. The strongest reason for respecting these regulations is the belief that disobedience brings death; no one knows how it is inflicted, but a careless girl soon dies. During this period she cannot eat fresh salmon, though she is allowed them if they have been smoked for four or five days. Her scanty meals are brought to her in the enclosure where she is virtually a prisoner. It is true that she can leave it and wander in the woods, but her comrades avoid her as being in an unclean condition of which they are afraid, and she is barred from taking part in all activities by the river which constitute so large a part of the life of the Bella Coola. A girl cannot pick berries during this time, as no more would grow in the valley which she had thus defiled; she must not touch anyone, nor allow anyone to touch her; she must not pass in front of a man; she must go to bed before everyone else in the house, and be the last to arise. The danger of breaking some taboo is so great that it is safer for a girl to remain within her enclosure where her mother, and other old women, gather to tell her the many things which it is fitting for an adult woman to know. This seclusion is not pleasant, but it unquestionably serves to emphasize the importance of married life to which it is a prelude. The writer remembers an occasion when a Bella Coola family was eating tasty fresh salmon while one of the daughters, who had recently reached adolescence, watched enviously. Her grandfather rose and gave the child an orange, remarking that in his youth little girls did not receive such dainties to ameliorate their lot.

Adolescent girls wear certain distinctive articles of clothing and ornaments. The most noticeable is a skull-cap bound with grass; this is the only time in a woman's life that a hat is worn. She also wears ear-rings, each consisting of a neat

1/4 [ie - one year after puberty - ANALYST]

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the same manner the fluent speaker outlines a myth belonging to the ancestral family of X's mother, again with emphasis on the dancers used by her ancestors. X, as a member of both ancestral families, can combine his rights from both sides, but it is customary for him to use no more than five or six performers. Should X have no claim to this privilege from either mother or father, an almost unthinkable situation, he is able to borrow the prerogative of using some from friends. The sentiment on which this oration of myths is based is the one so often mentioned; it marks the close relationship between the future children and their noble ancestors of old, a source of strength to the former.

X's father now names those whom he wishes to assist him on the following day. These are the dancers, who are chosen primarily for their skill in dancing, and secondarily in accordance with their rank. With them he selects a number of persons to stand near and help or "cherish" them as they perform. He also asks the services of some of the women who are professional droners; of the keeper of the marriage song of his ancestral family; and, finally, of a number of men to sit near the singers and assist them with suggestions. It would be most exceptional for anyone so called upon to decline the honour. It is near morning by this time and the guests depart.

On the following morning, the actual wedding day, X's father calls to his house those selected the previous evening as dancers and their assistants. The former wear blankets decorated with small copper ornaments[1] and carry circular wooden rattles provided with handles. Their clothing and rattles may be their own, but if they do not possess suitable attire, it is incumbent on X's father to provide them. Skins are piled up within the house, and some of these are said to "make soft the

[1] At the present time there is uncertainty as to the proper clothing of a marriage dancer. Several informants stated that it was a copper-decorated blanket, whereas others said that there was no special attire; one man claimed that an attempt was made to imitate the form and costume of X's first ancestor, and another that ruined costume was used. Probably there was no uniformity in custom.

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tried to incorporate as many of these as possible, so that the rite soon became a chorus of obscenities. The songs were sung and resung until all present were familiar with them, then the donor of the rite distributed food and all departed.

The following afternoon everyone, including those uninitiated into either society, were invited to the donor's house. Probably the only absentees from the village were the deserting wife and her lover, while guests from neighbouring settlements were often in attendance. On this occasion, for the first time, the deserted husband used to take the leading part. When the singers struck up the tune of the first song, he used to appear, supported by four or five assistants. His face was blackened with soot, he wore a lynx-skin belt, and above his head was fashioned some insulting object, usually a representation of the female organs made of wood, cedar-bark and berries, as realistic as possible. As the singers sang, aided by those who had learnt the songs on the previous day, the husband danced, moving his body so that the ornament on top of his head was shaken suggestively. Meanwhile the spectators kept calling out filthy epithets of any kind on his ex-wife and her lover. Sometimes the dancer was able to insert some obscene remarks into the display. On one occasion, for example, he pulled some lynx fur from his belt and threw it in the face of a *Tal'is* man who happened to be present, and who had once seduced a married woman and accordingly bore the butt of a similar rite, with the remark:

"All *Tal'is* women have hairy pudenda like that."

The guests were invited to suggest foul nick-names for the man with whom the dancer's wife had eloped. One of these was adopted by general agreement of opinion, and the man was commonly called by it henceforth. Two names so created were:

Hadoo, "The One Whose Face is Wrinkled like a Woman's Organs," and,

Emelcuit, "The One Who Cohabited Publicly."

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One very old man is still, 1913, commonly called by this last designation, much to his annoyance.

When the songs had been sung, each accompanied by the dancing of the deserted husband, the dance of the ceremony distributed food and the guests departed. The only advantage to the giver of the rite was that it enabled him to show his wealth in an apparently disinterested fashion by gifts of food. Usually he was a friend of the aggrieved husband.

When a husband deserted his wife, the other women of the village used to perform an exactly similar ceremony. The same type of songs were composed, and during their singing the deserted wife used to dance, wearing above her head representations of a penis and testicles. By means of hidden strings she was able to cause the former to become erect.

On other occasions the ceremony was varied by an announcer asking the offended party about the appearance of the deserter. There followed a minute and highly coloured description about the unpleasantness of his genital organs, a description which was swiftly incorporated into the songs.

It can be taken as a matter of course that the above description is little more than an outline of the Bella Coola ceremony of shaming. In spite of its deficiencies, it is important, as evidence of the former sentiment with regard to divorce. Obscene though the ceremony must have been, both in acting and in the free use of personalities, it must have been a powerful deterrent to divorce.* Indeed it would be difficult to imagine a stronger one in a community where a man's position is judged by public opinion and where his greatest aversion is to public ridicule. It is unfortunate that we shall probably never know whether the rite was associated with chiefs or commoners.

CEREMONIAL MARRIAGE

Since marriage gains much of its importance from the complicated business transactions between the two families, with

* A similar rite was occasionally carried out for connected reasons.

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place in the manner already described. After passing through the fourth hole, or for the fourth time through the single opening, the two go to some lonely pool in the forest where the mourner washes. They light a fire and deposit on it some of his clothing, placing the rest in a stump or hollow tree. The friend always takes with him a supply of new clothing which the person being purified puts on and returns home, cleansed from the immediate taint of death. 764 783

The above rite protects widower or widow, but does not alter the fact that for one year they are ceremonially "unclean" and must obey sundry taboos. They must not go to the bank of the river, or even appear at the front door of a house facing it. To do so is displeasing to the salmon; for the same reason they cannot eat this fish unless it has been smoked. If they wish to travel on the ocean, they cannot embark at the village but must go through the woods to a point on the shore and there be picked up by the canoe. There is a regular "Widows and Widowers Rock" about a mile on either side of every village on the coast. The one near Kimsquit is called *Xpiaw'ik*, and there is thought to be blood on it. A person mourning a consort must wear a hat decorated with miniature coppers of which the bottoms are bent upwards; should this be omitted, when the offender remarries, the new husband or wife will soon die. 785 [783] [825] [262] [484] [292] [761]

In addition to these taboos, there are customary laws of behaviour, an infraction of which renders the offender liable to social disapproval. Widows and widowers should cut their hair short, and the former should rub ashes on the face. Sexual intercourse is prohibited to both sexes; if this rule is broken, the relatives of the deceased are insulted. Remarriage should not take place for at least a year, although among poor people it sometimes occurs after only six months, in which case all taboos and restrictions automatically cease. There is no law on this point, but it is considered fitting to allow this period to elapse. These requirements clearly indicate that bereavement is not merely an individual affair, but entails social and [620] [302] [834] [587] [736]

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Such an adoption occurs only when the deceased was the owner of a Bella Bella myth and the song in question had been used to mourn a real or fictitious relative. It is contrary to custom to use the tune or words of a song not composed for a member of the deceased's ancestral family.

The actual delivering of invitations by the envoys to the desired guests does not differ from the manner already described, except that they are asked "to come to visit the sick [donor]." The significance is, of course, that the mourner's condition is that of a patient. To indicate the reason of their visit, guests at a memorial potlatch always wear a little dyed cedar-bark around their heads.

On arrival, the first party of foreign guests is conducted to the donor's house, where they make themselves comfortable in the section allotted to them by the heralds. An elderly Bella Coola chief who is a famous orator has been asked by the donor to speak, and he rises to do so as soon as his fellow-villagers have entered and taken their places. No set phrases are used, but the speaker usually begins by reminding all present of the way in which their ancestors were created in *Nuxwit-a*, and how all must return thither. It is an occasion on which eloquence is essential, and the speaker delights in using as many archaic words and rhetorical expressions as possible, with constant references to religious beliefs and ancient history as recorded in mythology. Then he speaks of the death which is the occasion of the ceremony. If the deceased were an old man, he is referred to by a special term not in common usage, *nudut-ax*, which implies wisdom and respect as well as extreme age. The orator states that he has fallen, using the term *ḳayax*, normally applied to the thunderous crash of some mighty tree. He speaks of a young chief as *xwᵘ'lāmkic*, short-lived, a person who has been hunted down by the supernatural Carpenters. He continues by sketching the works of the deceased, the number of potlatches he gave and the manner in which his name was known to many tribes. Finally he tells of the donor's grief, and of how this "sickness" has been alle-

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"Please stop crying. We have made good your memory. You are a light to your brother. Go to *Smaoxek* where he stands among the abalone-shells far to the south."[a] Thence go overland to Rivers Inlet where a *skämtsk* will serve as canoe for you." You will see the long house where your ancestor obtained shaman's power."[b]

Meanwhile Reuben Schooner had been out of sight behind the curtain of the stage. After a short interval, he emerged [292] wearing a blue blanket decorated with mother-of-pearl buttons sewn on in raven design. He was followed by two other influential members of the *ssaok* society, Alexander Clallaman and Nebuchadnezzar, similarly attired. Reuben began to sing in a low, sad, penetrating voice of considerable musical power and, followed by the other two, walked slowly in a sunwise circle around the hall, all the time shaking his right hand, held projecting outwards at right angles from his elbow. The song was in Bella Bella, and even the singer did not fully understand the meaning, and few of the audience had any idea of its significance. When the three had almost completed the first circuit, someone brought Reuben a rattle, which he clutched in his right hand as he continued his way. The reason of the shaking at once became evident; he should have had a rattle throughout but few of [178] these were left in Bella Coola at the time and it had not been possible to borrow one before beginning his song. Again the three slowly circled the hall, Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar calling out at intervals:

"Listen to the mourning song of the chief."

After the second circuit of the hall, Reuben paused near the singers and spoke to Alec Davis, a *ssaok siki*. The latter [424] rose and stated how the prerogative of *siki*, including the right to sing, unaccompanied, a mourning song on occasions such as this had been transmitted both to Reuben and his brother Harry from *Ab-sti*, a Bella Bella chief to whom they were

[a] This incident is one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[b] This incident is one of Jessie's ancestral myths.
[c] This incident is one of Jessie's ancestral myths.

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and heard her utter the name that was to be his, as a shaman, *Nitsɨmdimut*. He began to shake his hands as if dancing, for he was too feeble to do more, and began to sing the song. His mother at once called in the singers who listened, learning it for future use. The man is firmly convinced that if his mother had not thus called in the singers so speedily he would, after four days, have received another vision, and with it real shamanistic power. As it is, he is a shaman, since he was cured when at the point of death by *Ttitcäplilän·a* and received a name and song from her, but he is unable himself to effect cures. As soon as the singers had departed, his mother at once began to make for him a collar formed of alternate bands of dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. This is the distinctive decoration worn constantly by a shaman for a certain period after receiving his powers, and at all times when dancing. Within a few days all the inhabitants of the village were called in and the man's family distributed presents, thus validating his shamanistic name. Such presents are not returnable; "they have become nothing" for the designation. Thus accredited, a shaman is in a position to start curing, if his song has contained a reference to a basin, otherwise, as in the present case, he is merely a shaman in a social sense, not professionally. There is thought to be actually within the new shaman's body, some peculiar power which is too potent to allow him to mix with others. Accordingly he wears the distinctive collar, which serves as a warning to menstruating women and others who are unclean to remain at a distance, and he spends much of his time alone in the forest. This continues until the next *kusiut* dance season when the coming to him of a *yaw* (II, p. 6) frees him from restraint, since the one supernatural power drives out the other. If the shaman himself is unwilling to have a *yaw*, it is sufficient if one comes to a son, or other near relative.

A shaman who has been told by his supernatural visitor to use a basin instructs a carpenter to make one for him. The design depends either on the owner's wish, or on that of his benefactor if the latter has decreed specifically.

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to make known to all that there will be a dance on the following day, using the name of the shaman. After such announcement, it would be most unusual for anyone to think of leaving a village until after the performance.

Towards dusk on the appointed day the people are summoned to the house of the shaman. Near the door are seated those who are not initiated *kukusiut*; in the inner part of the house are members of the society, with the singers in their accustomed places behind the fire. The shaman stands alone between the fire and the door and sings one of his songs, the time being marked by the words alone. Then he dances, his wrists shaking, his head rolling from side to side, and his feet marking time to the beating of sticks, as the singers accompany the singing of his song. If more than one song has been composed he dances to each, always accompanied by other shamans and by them alone. The shaman's costume consists of the usual blanket, and eagle down is scattered in his hair, with the additional and distinctive mark of intertwined dyed, and undyed, cedar-bark. After every song, the singers beat time very rapidly,[1] too rapidly for the dancer to keep pace with it, so he merely sways backwards and forwards shaking his hands violently. Then the shaman, assisted by a few friends whom he has chosen for the purpose, performs a conjuring feat to impress the uninitiated. The *kukusiut* realize that this may be merely a deception, but since real shamans perform something of the same nature, there is always the possibility that it may be genuine. The shaman may choose some feat which he has seen some old shaman perform, or he may use something which he has seen in a dream; or rely purely on his own inventive ability, aided, as he always is, by carpenters. The method of carrying out each trick is carefully guarded, with the result that it was impossible to obtain information about more than a few. After the conjuring act, the shaman gives food to all, followed by presents. If it is the first time that he has given

[1] This fast beating of time is called *alel*; it occurs only in shaman and naxnox dances.

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter.

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers beat out the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger.

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Ninittsamlaix*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed.

On one occasion *Ninittsamlaix* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Ninittsamlaix* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Ninittsamlaix* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Ninittsamlaix* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and proceeded to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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ceal their subterfuges, it sometimes happens that an uninitiated person sees or hears something which he should not know. The simplest way to deal with this situation is to kill the observer. It is said that as late as 1900 a young man, impelled by curiosity, wandered up a valley into which he had been warned not to penetrate, and met a Cannibal whom he believed had vanished into the upper realms. Almost dumbfounded, he accepted the latter's invitation to sit down, and was slain by him. More often, and especially if the observer is the child of a *kusiut*, he is initiated into the ranks of the society. If this happens at any time of year except the actual ceremonial season, he cannot perform immediately, but he is taken to the secret meeting place of the village chiefs, and there the mysteries of the organization are explained to him. The uninitiated are told that the observer has had a shaman's experience. With the aid of the older *kukusiut* he then performs a dance and conjuring feat of the type already described (I, p. 564), and is secluded until the next autumn, meanwhile wearing the distinctive collar of a shaman. In the songs used on this occasion no mention is made of a wash-basin, so of course the lad only performs ceremonially. When winter comes he is formally initiated into the society.

It is somewhat difficult to understand and explain the sentiments which lead a young man to obey rigidly the dictates of the senior *kukusiut* in deceiving his former friends. If it becomes known that a youth has seen something which should have been concealed, the senior *kukusiut* of his village meet in their ceremonial spot and decide that he must be put through the shaman's rite. Some relative of the youth is always ready to provide the necessary *kusiut* prerogative; otherwise he would have to be killed. Two or three members are then sent to catch the young man. On some pretext they lure him into the woods and then carry him away, struggling in fear, to the holy of holies, the place which he had been told to avoid since he would die if he penetrated to it. Here he finds all the seniors of his village, seated with grave expressions on

[Kusiut Society Initiation]

call is that something strange has happened to the "mortal." At intervals throughout the day he repeats this announcement, and towards nightfall goes around calling:

Skinap, skinap, kukusiaot, "Cure, cure, ye members of the *kusiut* society, power has come to the son of the chief [or to the mortal]."

The *kukusiut* assemble in X's house, taking their places around the fire; the uninitiated crowd near the doorway. X is seated among his relatives and some of the senior members of the society behind the fire. A herald calls out:

"I want a *siki* to help X."

In every village there are at least two *kukusiut* who have, embodied with their *kusiut* name, the professional prerogative of acting as healer to every novice; it is believed that the ancestor of each obtained a name and this right through a revelation from some supernatural healer. Since that time the owner of the name has been able to insert some of his own ever-present power into a neophyte to enable him to sustain the dangers of admission to the society. This is the fiction taught to the uninitiated. The profession of *siki* can be transmitted by willing like any other prerogative and it occasionally happens that the same individual is *siki* for both *kusiut* and *nusuk*. In answer to the herald's call, the two *siki* come forward and crouch behind the fire, one on either side of it. Their faces are blackened with soot, and each wears a blanket, decorated with dyed cedar-bax, thrown loosely over his shoulders, leaving the chest and stomach bare except for an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Meanwhile beating sticks are distributed among most of the *kukusiut* who strike furiously on the floor with them without any attempt to keep time; the sole object is to produce the greatest din possible.

One of the *siki* contorts himself in an amazing manner, presses his hands against his stomach as if to force something from it, and rolls from side to side on his haunches, until at length he produces, as if from his body, a rock crystal (see Plate 3).[1] He waves this to and fro in his hands, then goes

[1] [See category 116, p 84(c) - ANALYST]

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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

X sometimes re-
ceives two prerogatives at his initiation, one from each parent, or from some other interested relative. In this case both are expounded. The singers listen intently, knowing that they will later be called upon to compose songs on the theme, or themes. According to some informants they immediately sing one, as if they had just created it, though it was really prepared in advance. The *kukusiut* listen until they have mastered it.

Helpers now distribute the food provided by X's father, or whoever is responsible for his initiation. At every *kusiut* ceremonial the marshals are the first recipients, then the singers, and finally the others without distinction. As the guests are eating, X's father gives presents to all, without deference to rank. An announcer calls out:

"Here are [for example] ten bear-skins from X's mother. They are to obtain for him his cedar-bark bracelets."

These goods are then distributed. Similarly other gifts from various relatives are handed out for his anklets, his blanket, his collar, his head-dress, and all other parts of his clothing. As each item of his ceremonial costume is validated, X dons the prepared article. A novice's head-dress consists of a round roll of dyed cedar-bark, covering a grass frame; in *Stuix* and the other villages of the upper valley this is decorated with a tuft of swan's down. The *kukusiut* of these villages also wear a distinctive decoration consisting of a swan's skin with the feathers attached. In recent years it has been customary to pile all the goods together and distribute them as *ālq·ił*, which has the significance of "something that has vanished for the novice's dyed cedar-bark." Theoretically, the aim of the donor is to bestow his presents on all equally, but if he finds that he has some remaining, he gives these to the chiefs, or to the relatives of someone whom he expects will soon be a novice. None of the goods used in general distributions are returnable, but a chief who receives an extra gift at the end usually remembers from whom it was received and cancels his indebtedness at the earliest opportunity. There is no close connection between the disbursements and the worth of the

575* 796 [425] 553 [533]

575* 796 556 [264]

[425] [292] [184] [237]

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[Kusiut Society Initiation]

*575 individual, other than an indefinite recollection of the amount
796 of goods used for his dyed cedar-bark. People always have
556 sufficient goods to validate *kusiut* prerogatives; in fact, if a proud person gives too lavishly to confirm the initiation of a relative, the marshals sometimes burn the goods, giving no explanation other than that the uninitiated must not be led to believe that a *kusiut* ceremony is an affair of wealth like a potlatch. Formerly, goods were given only at initiation ceremonies, but between 1880 and 1890 a chief gave presents, instead of food, at a dance. His example was followed, since none was willing to be outdone, although such gifts are still called "food." The name of the donor is always announced, whether he is the dancer himself or one of his relatives.

*575 X, though now a member of the *kusiut* society, is still a
784 novice and cannot give a dance[11] until the next ceremonial
[796] season, that is, until one year has elapsed. The marshals instruct him about his costume, and about the manner in which he must deport himself during this period, matters which depend to a considerable extent upon his prerogative. If he
[262] is a Cannibal, Scratch, or Breaker dancer he must not eat unsmoked salmon, nor must he enter a house in which either a potlatch or a memorial potlatch is taking place.[12] Failure to obey this injunction would warrant punishment from a foreign
[302] tribe. Unless his prerogative is to give one of these, or the
[292] Ghost dance, he must keep his face constantly blackened. Every novice must wear a collar of dyed cedar-bark. The marshals warn him to be circumspect in dealing with uninitiated persons; he can talk to them, but it is most improper for him to engage in any familiarity or frivolous play. Above
[524] all, he must neither gamble nor take part in non-athletic games,
[525]

[11] A Cannibal novice, however, begins to exercise his prerogative immediately, although he must also perform a complete dance the following year.

[12] This prohibition was once broken at *Kemgas* (i). A skilled leader was required to arrange the taste at a memorial potlatch and the only man fit for the purpose, a resident of *Kuaui*, was a Cannibal novice. After much deliberation he was called upon, but great care was taken to hide his identity and it was years before the infraction became known.

[The Dance of NoaKxnim]

*575 *796 snatches from old songs. The Bella Bella are said to use the same compositions from year to year, and recently some of [533] these, both tunes and foreign words, have been adopted by [177] the Bella Coola. Long ago the marshals would have prohibited this custom even if the user had legitimately obtained the foreign prerogative by marriage.

[305] As the time draws near for *Noäkxnim* to start his voyage, X anxiously consults any of the elder *kukusiut* who may be calendrical experts as to the exact date. The system of reckoning time is not sufficiently exact to avoid errors, but the day ultimately arrives on which, after much discussion, it is agreed that *Noäkxnim* is leaving. Word is passed around to the singers, who sleep that night in X's house, ready for their duties on the morrow.

Early in the morning X stands up, gazes fixedly towards the west, and calls out:

[987] "Once more I see what I saw last year," or some other more or less specific claim to a vision.

[773] It is believed that *Noäkxnim* must round four points before reaching Bella Coola; in fact, his journey beneath the sea is similar to that of a canoe pushing up one of the long fiords.

*[203] Some of the marshals are always in readiness and one of them tells a herald to go to every house, repeating what X has said. This serves both to impress the uninitiated, and to notify the *kukusiut* of what is about to take place. The mes- *575 senger does so, and when all have gathered, the singers, seated *796 behind the fire, begin to beat out one of the songs composed 533 during the summer months. The theme is of X's phenomenal eye-sight, due to his patron having sent to him the supernatural being, *Nuälkomtnam*, at the moment of his departure. [776] This being does not seem to possess corporeal form, but is rather a sight-producing medium. In the song he is often likened to a swift-flying bird; when the uninitiated hear of this they are suitably impressed with the remarkable ability of X at having such a creature sent to him. X, who has donned a ●[292] head-dress consisting of the white tails of two eagles, dances

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

if he so desires. The *kukusiut* listen to the song, and when it is resung they join in. They practise it repeatedly, until familiar with both words and tune. This part of the ceremony lasts for about two hours.

The singers, and any others who are prepared to beat time, are always provided with long, flat, thin sounding-boards to increase the din of the pounding. When the marshals decide that the song is sufficiently familiar, they tell some of the *kukusiut* to carry these boards to the lowest house of the village. They do this, and also scatter clean sand on the floor, as is customary whenever a supernatural being is to enter. The uninitiated persons within the house watch with great interest. The singers enter and take their places behind the fire, then other *kukusiut* and finally X himself; his face is unblackened, but he wears his two eagle tails in his hair and a collar of dyed cedar-bark. On his head is a thin cylindrical circlet, about four inches high, of the same material, ornamented with swan's down by the inhabitants of the villages of the upper Bella Coola valley. The collar consists of a roll of grass, entirely covered with dyed cedar-bark from which pendant tassels of the same hang down over his chest; similar ones are worn by *nusok* dancers, except that the tassels hang down their backs. Every *kusiut* dancer wears these two ornaments, and those who have the necessary prerogative adorn themselves with an apron of deer hooves or puffin beaks. Blankets are always worn. *Kukusiut* women wear in addition woollen pubic garments.

As the singers beat out X's tune, accompanied by the voices of themselves and other *kukusiut*, he dances. Since his style is typical of all *kukusiut* except Cannibals and a few others, it will be well to digress at this point in order to describe it. X raises his arms until their upper parts are approximately the height of his shoulders, and project outwards and slightly to the front; they are bent at the elbows with the forearms vertical, thus bringing the hands opposite the top of the head. Both wrists are shaken constantly, the muscles of the lower

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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[The Dance of Noakxnim]

since a certain *kusiut* has the definite prerogative of throwing them on the fire. As each is tossed into the flames he calls out:

"Please return directly to the supernatural ones."

The only exception is for the mask of *Ano'likwolsix* for which his cry is:

"Please return directly to your repository."

Before X can again take his normal place in the community it is necessary to remove from him the call, which is conceived as being something physical that has entered his body. This is the belief taught to the uninitiated so emphatically that the *kukusiut* themselves appear to believe it; at any rate, whatever their inward thoughts, they act as if the call had substance. As soon as the masks have been burnt one of the *kukusiut* suggests that it is time to expel the call. All the *kukusiut* in the house crowd around X, as many as can reach his body pressing against his stomach with their hands, always in an upward direction. Higher and higher they go, from stomach to chest, from chest to neck, as if massaging some object. At last it is thought to have been expelled, and X brings his hands together, as if holding something with great care. Suddenly he throws them up in the air, opening them as he does so, and calling out:

Awakâlimut ola âmâxuxua, "Go back to your ancient home."

Those ritual words have been handed down from ancient times and are used by every *kusiut* to dismiss his call. Whither it is sent is problematical. Some say to X's repository, others to *Nuxalxwaista*; the Bella Coola do not know. Often one of his songs has been sung on the sidewalk outside X's house; the call may be returned from there.

This rite ends the ceremony and the *kukusiut* dispense. It is obvious that every *nalaxam* must vary according to the patron of the dancer, but the above is typical of the ritual. A call can now come to any *kusiut*, and one often descends at this time, so that X's *nalaxam* is *kustâmem* for another dancer.

For the rest of the ceremonial season X has to observe certain rules. He must wear his collar of cedar-bark and

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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attend every *kusiut* dance. Usually all *kukusiut* do so in any case, but the attendance of all novices and those who have had calls is obligatory. If the dancer's face has been blackened, it must be kept so during this period. At every *qotlum* he dances to his eight songs, and throughout the ceremonial season has the power of attracting to himself the spirit of an uninitiated person. He sleeps in whatever house a dance is taking place, but is forbidden to hold sexual intercourse except in his own, which, of course, is possible only when a call comes to another housemate. Failure to obey this injunction was formerly punished by the marshals with death. These rules apply to every dancer.

Älquntäm enters *Nusqulxwaista* at the winter solstice, and at that time calls come to those *kukusiut* of whom he is patron. It is uncertain whether or not this entails the regular ceremony of four nights' duration. On the entry of the supreme being, *Noäkȳnum* seizes his paddle (or pole?), returns to *Smaien·a*, and then descends the Bella Coola River. It is believed by the uninitiated that X can see him as he passes, and the singers compose a ninth song for him. The words describe how the departing *Noäkȳnum* empties a large number of olachen into the river.[19] X dances to it, but no call comes to him. This final episode of the complicated ritual occurs, of course, after calls have come to other *kukusiut*.

It sometimes happens that no *kusiut* of whom *Noäkȳnum* is patron has enough food to give the lengthy dance just described, but some type of ritual is necessary to inaugurate the ceremonial season. Accordingly, someone with the proper prerogative is asked by the marshals to see *Noäkȳnum* when at the mouth of the river; then, when he passes upstream four days later, a call can come to any *kusiut*. This abbreviated ceremony, termed *Imältsndjutqulsan*, is carried out in the manner described above, except that it is completed in four days with only two songs.

[19] *Noäkȳnum* is accordingly often called *Nuxlalsnum*.

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[The Cannibal Dance]

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Towards dawn, a herald goes through the village crying loudly:

"Get up, you young men! Get up all ye people! Something strange has come upon the young man."

The uninitiated are expelled and the *kukusiut* assemble in X's house where he is acting as if demented, biting any of his associates except other Cannibals, Scratchers, Breakers, or those whose patrons are ghosts. Meanwhile those who are not members of the society cower in their own houses, and are told that if they dare to look out, X, scenting them, will bite them to death. At intervals during the morning, X goes around to the other houses, naked and savage, snapping at everyone he sees. The uninitiated hide in the bedrooms, but peek out occasionally and hear his growlings and the shrieks of mock terror with which his associates greet his bites and threats. The *kukusiut* tell non-members when it is safe for them to leave their hiding-places for necessary purposes, but at all other times they remain in concealment, listening with fear to the dangerous maniac.

About midday X returns to his house where a large number of *kukusiut* have assembled. The uninitiated certainly, and perhaps some of the *kukusiut* as well, believe that Cannibals are carried away to the land above where they are exposed to great dangers, and to prevent this an effort is always made to bind the dancer. The marshals and X's relatives have made the necessary preparations, consisting of the manufacture of a long rope, in addition to the usual dyed cedar-bark collar and a bear-skin. The *kukusiut* enter whole-heartedly into the dramatic spirit of the rite, and the robe is thrust over X in spite of his furious struggles. Then the collar is forced over his head, while the women drone and the whistles sound eerily, to the wonder of the uninitiated listening from adjacent houses. The thick, cable-like rope is doubled and a circle of *kukusiut* form around the seemingly demented dancer, each man holding a section. X rushes against one part of the circle after another, as if to force his way out; sometimes he bends down, and those

[172]
[292]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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575*
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PLATE 3

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Ititl producing a crystal from his stomach

[p. 84 (c)]

2;McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PLATE 5

575*
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292
787

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Conibal with incubus in form of a bear

[p. 84 (E)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
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575*
796*
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PLATE 7

Photograph by the author

Blanket with wooden skulls
worn by a cannibal

[p. 164 (A)]

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE5 Bellacoola NE5

575*
796*
776
532
292

PLATE 9

Photograph by H. I. Smith, *National Museum of Canada*

Thunder dancer. Notice the cedar-bark collar with pendant tassels and the framework of twigs decorated with eagle down.

[p. 164 (c)]

E. McGaw Ms. E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEG. Bellacoola 1435

[The Dance of Winaiwina]

Another Initiation derived the prerogative of having *Winaiwina* as patron from a myth previously cited (II, p. 45). After Raven had seen *Nusiłqvum* and obtained him for *Alłłamaḥaxsis*, he flew down the food once more, observed *Winaiwina*, and made him patron for *Qaqaxtsiłida*.

The ritual of the dance of *Winaiwina* does not vary, irrespective of its origin; accordingly one account will suffice and the performer can be referred to as X.

This dance occurs also at Kimsquit where the repository is usually in the woods a few yards from shore.

Winaiwina is supposed to return to Bella Coola when the January moon is full;* accordingly X consults the moonlight and makes his preparations slightly before that date. Four days before the full moon, the uninitiated are excluded from the house and a ritual enclosure is built between the fire and the back-room. This rite differs from most *Initiation* dances in that the call does not come at this time. Irrespective of whether or not the *Initiation* happens to be present on the evening of this day, X mounts to the enclosure and sits there, looking eastward for the return of *Winaiwina*. Heralds inform the uninitiated in the other houses of what is taking place. X wears a collar of dyed cedar-bark and a head-dress of eagle tail feathers, but his face is not blackened.

For three nights and three days X remains in the enclosure, gazing to the east, and meanwhile no uninitiated dare even to pass outside of his house. As the fourth night is falling, messengers summon the *Initiates* who enter and sit in silence as if waiting for something; the heralds inform non-members that X's vigil will soon be over. After an interval they are likewise called in, and eagerly take their places near the door, where they receive a share of the food being served. Suddenly X jumps down from the enclosure and cries out loudly:

"The supernatural young man has left his child with strangers while he has been on a journey. Now he is returning,

*Owing to many coincidental observations the exact date is seldom known.

[The Dance of the Tally Posts]

#575 #[illegible] [417] During [illegible] and [illegible] days the [illegible] gather in X's house where they construct a long ladder. The uprights and rungs are of split cedar, and each of the latter is decorated with a tuft of [illegible], and a tuft of undyed cedar-bark; two white eagle-tail feathers are fastened to the top. In the afternoon of [illegible], a kusiut who is also a chief blackens his face, dons a collar of dyed cedar-bark and sallies forth to invite guests from the adjacent villages. About the same time the [illegible] in X's house is pushed back and the ladder is erected, projecting a considerable distance above the roof. The uninitiated see it clearly and wonder what it may portend. In the evening the kusiut assemble and the singers beat out X's two songs for the benefit of the guest visitors. Then the uninitiated are called in. They see the lower part of the ladder, and gaze with wonder on X who keeps walking backwards and [illegible] forwards in his usual costume, clad in a dance-apron and a black blanket to which is tied one end of the long rope. Two kusiut assistants hold a section of it as if to anchor him. The dancer carries a rattle which he keeps shaking violently. His two songs are sung and everything is now ready for the main performance. Still shaking his rattle, X climbs the ladder and disappears from sight through the roof, dragging the rope after him. The sound of the rattle grows gradually fainter and fainter, but the cable is steadily drawn up through the opening. It is so realistic that the uninitiated hardly require the explanation given by an eloquent kusiut that a strange power has come to X, enabling him to climb up a ladder which lengthens of its own accord until he will ultimately reach the land above. The orator explains how the dancer will be able to straighten the tally posts, and thus have it in his power to govern the life of an individual, though normally it is only the supernatural beings who can do so. In this connection he employs the term [192] [illegible], a word seldom used which has the significance of "A Measuring of the Span of Life."

As at kusiut dances, spies guard the doorway and threaten death to the kusiut unless X returns in safety. He

2-SM-Gerard, E-1 (1922-1924) 1268
BBS Bellacoola MSS

[The Ghost Dance]

qulax. When the dance has ended, X gives presents, four to each spectator, and then to those who have assisted him, starting with the singers. This is the last event of the evening and the *kukwisis* disperse.

The forms of doing things in the reverse order appears not only in actions, but in the order of the ceremonies. Those just described, although at the beginning of the rite, resemble a *sukwam* in many respects. Consequently, it is not surprising that the next night is *qulax*. The singers are the first to assemble and they compose a second song for X, with the same theme but different words and tune to that already prepared. Meanwhile the *kukwisis* are gathering and when they have learnt the new song, the uninitiated are announced. No ceremony has been held, and X is much in evidence. His body has been painted green with a preparation of grass rubbed between, he wears the usual collar of dyed cedar-bark and a kind of head-dress with a triangular projection over his forehead. The two songs are sung, and X dances vigorously to each in the manner just described. This is followed by the customary *qulax* circuit, *kwisis* after *kwisis* dancing as the singers have sung his two songs. Finally a Camilial begins to growl fiercely at one of the rear corners and the uninitiated flee hurriedly. The *kukwisis* are together, listening to the admonitions and remarks of the mandaiis, and then X dances once more. Among the peculiarities of the Ghost dance is the fact that the call may be returned at this point, or X may again become mad, according to the wishes of the mandaiis. If they desire a further display of his mastery, he rushes out as soon as he has finished dancing and proceeds to the lowest house of the village. A number of *kukwisis* follow him and appear to be trying to prevent him from picking up handfuls of dirt from the floor and throwing them in all directions in an aimless manner. As a matter of fact his guardians take care that X hurls approximately the same amount in each house, as none of them is willing to have more damage done in his own house than in others. After a visit to each dwelling, the party returns to

Ahnenya, "Left Foot": Once repository named from part of a supernatural creature.

Ayaxalus: Kimsquit human living in the last century.

Ayaxalt: Dancehouse shaft.

Ayaxalt'aq, "The Finished": Said concerning a hunter who has foreseen initiation and his first complete dance.

Ayaxaxs: Small cap of grass and dancehouse-shafts worn by adolescent girls during seclusion.

Ayaxelx: Crest, especially from play, to a hunter dance.

Ayaxelxmas: 1—Supernatural female.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially dancing dances and guessing competitions in connection with the Winter's dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a hunter dance.

Ayaxgaiyu, "A Screaming": Said of cups when a wife's relatives have given more property to the husband's than they have received in return.

Ayaxi: Place of commencement of a Winter's dance's guests.

Ayaxiaxalus: Old people, especially persons who in a public way for talkers address *Ayaxiki* hearers, especially the validated guardian of a chief to a feast.

Ayaxiqa: Dishes served with seasoned meat.

Ayaxiqi: 1—Whale.
2—Daughter of the first survivor on Galiu

Ayaxit: Spring salmon.

Ayaxiyu: Spring salmon feast.

Ayaxkaiu: Dishonored name of a hunter murdered.

Ayaxkiu: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

Ayaxkulmas: 1—The observance of such as behavior in the manufacture of masks and other requirements
2—Hours, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a hunter dance.

Ayaxkulmasmiyu, "The Hunters Wishes": Name given to the daughter of the first survivor at Galiu.

Ayaxkulu: Mask which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a hunter mask.

Ayaxkuqaxk: Sacred night of a potlatch.

Ayaxkuxk: Aesthetic, pre-this ancestors built into a river for use in headwater fishing.

Ayaxlaxa, "Where People Go": A collecting post owned by Nuxalk on Kimsquit.

Ayaxlaxkaiu: Fore-and-Hind Channel.

Ayaxlaxmiyu, "The Hunter Whose Hair Grew Making Instrument to His Body": One of Tlesqaiken-ch's names and hence a designation given to shamans.

Ayaxlaxsaiu: Supernatural beings who guards headwaters.

Ayaxlaxsmas: 1—"The Open Mouthed" (in the order of open or wide mouthed animals): One of Tlesqaiken-ch's names and hence a designation given to shamans.
2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

Ayaxmas: Both evening meals.

Ayaxmasmas: 1—Name of ordinary individuals, this term is used to distinguish those who are being initiated into the guild society.
2—Impending supernatural man whose words

Ásmalt: Locality near *Snaw* where berries are gleaned.
Á'yaqk: Chief living at *Tal'es* in the beginning of time.

A

aaa'ipa: One of the *a'alk* dances.
aas: I, first person singular.
'aas: Herring eggs when brought into house ready for preparation as food.[1]

B

bákuk': Supernatural animal.
Bálá': One of the first women sent down west of Kwatna in the beginning of time.
ba-ga-ga: To guess, as done by the uninitiated at a Mystery dance.
Bá'ákwaaaitsa or *Bá'ákwaaaitsatsa*: Kwakiutl supernatural being.
bálá': Lamprey.
Bálánt: *Kwatsi* name of a *Snaiia* man.
bánq'i: Abalone shell.
Bánmálálx: Influential Kwatna woman who died about 1870.
bápa: Bell-capped hat worn by chiefs.
Bá'ámas: A Kimsquit composer.
Bá'ámas: *Snaw* man mentioned in an ancient story.
bás: Supernatural, man-like creature.

D

da yaq'"da or amq'": The sky, regarded as the lower side of a land inhabited by supernatural beings.
Dagbá'ahás: 1—"The Comet," synonym for *Nusdzawas*.
2—The *Seatsa* prerogative of seeing *Nusdzawas*.
Dagbálánx, "The Ever-Comet": Synonym for *Nusdzawas*.
Dagbálánxmaxs: Supernatural being who owns *Nusdzawas*.
Dagbálánxmaxs: Supernatural dog salmon resident in the land above.
d-yáwaxts di xnáx: Nánx's husband.
d-yáwaxts xet sulkwás: Xeet's husband.
Dágwá'nukl: One of the four men to settle at *Ásgalánt* in the beginning of time.
dáxix: Archaic term for *Seatsa* Breakers.[2]
dzálk: Frayed cedar-wood, as used for tinder.
dzálálxtsi, plural, *dzálálxtsáxwas*: Son; term used in direct address for an adult.
Dzáxsp: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dzi Xnámálk, "The Slave Owner": Designation of the supernatural woman *Kwatna*.
Dzáxáwaxs: Collective term applied to the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the mainland.
Dzawális xa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Dzáxaxaq'": Chief of abalone-shell people on the lower Nass in the beginning of time.
Dzáxaxaq'": One of the first men to settle at *Snaw* in the beginning of time.
Dzáxsgwa: One of the first women to settle at *Tal'es* in the beginning of time.

[1] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.
[2] This word was recorded from a man with the individual usage of an *r* sound.

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[227]
[242]
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nuxa: Kwakiutl term for pressure distributed as "Eagle down."
pata: Scoop-net for catching salmon in rivers.
pepeyalqax: Head-dress of eagles' tails worn by *hamatsa* dancers.
smaxaL: Spring water.
Tsmqaila: Settlement in the Carrier country.
tsqa'L: Cow parsnip.
Xaaltsa: Name obtained in the beginning of time from the Skeena people in whose language it is said to mean *whale*.
Xaixaixtcakalaks: Skeenas who obtained his power from Thunder.
Xaixaixtlis: Daughter of a Kitlobo chief living in the beginning of time.
xaxlenalis: Wrestling.
Xeadjax (, "The Creek"): Name taken by one of the first settlers at Hallibut in the beginning of time but long since changed to a *hamatsa* designation.
xeexexqaxaw: 1—Humminghird.
2—One of the first men to settle at *Xgaaltsa'* in the beginning of time. [825]
xeexexsemid sis: Puppet-games in the form of a humminghird.
xenqa sis di sisa: The concluding ritual of the *hamatsa* season.
xesaxa'a: Gambling game played with cottonpole sticks. [525]
Xgaaltsa', "The One Whose Work Has Failed": Professional name of a *hamatsa* member.
xqlaxemaxk: The desertion of her husband by a wife. [376]

Y

Yaltadis: Ancestral name of a Haxa man.
Ya'L'aemaxsem: Example men mentioned in an allegedly historical account. [374]
yaw: "Hahol" "Hail!" or "Greetings!"
yi: Exclamation having the significance of, "May you have a safe passage," said when a corpse is drawn through the roof.
Yialis: One of the first men to settle at *Xaixaix* in the beginning of time.
Yiwadji: Baby Bulls men mentioned in an ancient story.
yoxsemex: 1—Prerogatives, tangible or intangible, which were *hahaetsi* powers in addition to a dance.
2—Similar prerogatives formerly displayed in ancient rites.
yuxw: 1—Call, dirt in, that which impels a *hamatsa* to dance.
2—*Kwakiutl* whistle.
Yi'wadalaxa: Man-eater ogress of Kwatsa in the beginning of time.
yuxlis: Virtue, implying both wealth and good fortune, applied to a man able to give a memorial potlatch soon after the death of a relative. [431]
yuyaEmex: Presents given by a prospective bridegroom to his future father-in-law. [534]
yu: Good, adjective. [825]
yuhi: Mountain goat.
Yi'wahalas: Green Island.
yuhlis: "All Right," cry used in a *hamatsa* dance.
Yalwa: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
Yi'yaltadalas: One of the first men to settle at *Xgaaltsa'* in the beginning of time.
yuhlalaxsem: Bringing down of a wall by means of the rite of *semaqlaxt*. [431]
yuhlalsis: Presents given by the bride's relatives to the groom's when they come [585]
for hours on the wedding day.

6:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1892
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576 773 776 796 coats of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sea. Ever since that time the Hāīqela dance the Sisaok'a. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'umk'umk'ūlaya.

FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ots'qoku.

532 575 776

Cf 9 532 922 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisaok'a only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the secret posses-

FIG. 10.—Mask representing K'ok'lōsa.

FIG. 11.—Mask representing [illegible]

575 776

534 285 sions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the same rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shaman must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have received it the Gmg'ila dances clothed in a bear-skin and wearing a large hunting-knife, bracelets and anklets, all made of red and white cedar-bark. Some Gmg'ila do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also eat corpses. The Gmg'ila has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

The G'ixq (= the laughter) and the Dā'ōis (= the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The G'ixq 'makes fun of everything' and annoys people with his antics. The Dā'ōis carries stones and sticks, and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he pays for it at night when he dances. The G'ixq and the Dā'ōis must stay for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kā'ōitis, for instance when the Gmg'ila practises, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing, and one of his relations is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shamans, who bewitch the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shamans is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If the object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits the blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the attendants and other ceremonial) used in the Kā'ōitis are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others the thunder-bird and his servant Ḵ!ōqōi'nōxoa, who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines, appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Q!ōmōxsta and his brothers and his sister (see p. 418), Hāmāmā'yaq and his fellows, the nurse and the Pumpā'wis, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house and repairs to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by one

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[94] maternal midwives. The child is washed in warm water. For ten days
[95] the mother must remain in this hut. Father and mother must not go
[96] near the room for a year (according to Boas'ivists, for ten days), also
[97] the nurses would take offence.

[98] The child is now given its first name. On this occasion the whole
[99] tribe is invited to a feast, the name is made public, and the guests receive
[100] small presents. The child retains this name until it becomes a member
[101] of the Kwan, when it is given its Kwanit name. This ceremony takes
place after puberty has been reached. About this period the young men
grow his first pubhich and assume the Qi'sbiton name.

[102] When a girl reaches puberty she must stay in the shed which serves
as her bedroom, where she has a separate fireplace. She is not allowed
to descend to the main part of the house, and must not sit by the fire of
the family. For four days she must remain motionless in a sitting pos-
ture. She fasts during the daytime, but is allowed a little food and
drink at a very early hour in the morning. After this term she may
leave her room, but only through a separate opening. She must not yet
[103] come to the main room. When leaving the house she wears a large hat,
[104] which protects her face against the rays of the sun. It is believed that
if the sun should shine on her face her eyes would suffer. She may
pick berries on the hills, but must not come near the river or sea for
a whole year. She must not eat fresh salmon, else she would lose
her senses, or her mouth would be transformed into a long beak. She
must not chew gum or eat more (see Fifth Report of Committee,
1887, p. 116).

[105] If a young man wishes to marry a girl he goes, accompanied by his
[106] friends, to the house of the girl's father and states his intention. His
friends carry food and presents, and if the father accepts the suit he
sends out a young man, who receives the food and presents and carries
them into the house. Sometimes the father does not accept the offer at
once. In such cases the young man may repeat the same ceremony until
[107] he is finally rejected or accepted. After the time of the marriage has
been agreed upon between the contracting parties, and the day preceding
the marriage has arrived, the young man invites all the people to a feast,
during which he states that he is to be married on the following day.
He asks a number of men, generally from twenty to thirty, and has
[108] women to assist him. On the following forenoon they assemble, and
accompany the bridegroom to the girl's house. They sing vociferously,
[109] but of the new dance. All of them have their faces painted red. Shortly
they enter, and the bridegroom gives a large amount of property to the
girl's father. Then the girl leaves her parents and goes to the bride-
groom, bringing him also a large amount of property which has been
[110] given to her for this purpose by her parents and relatives. He in turn
gives her the food and other apparel of the best quality, and distributes
presents among her relatives. This is repeated after some time. All he
has given to his bride and her relatives is repaid to him with interest.
A rich girl will repay twice or three times the amount given by the man.
At the time of the marriage the bride's father may promise the groom to
[111] give him his eldest or second or any of the girls born after this child.
The children may belong to the father's or mother's gens, as the parents
may choose.

[112] In case of a separation the wife refunds the amount of purchase-
money. The children may stay with either parent, or part of them may

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every morning when the sun rises. He takes on that he rises pro- 556
erly. The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the kwäkt these deities make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. Xä'msteus and Xämsmälä'ōtsa wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xä'mstem by a 575
double curved line in red and black, the blue being outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xämsmälä'ōtsa has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which runs over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Ämäl'äk'a and Ämäl'äla wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The Hä'ōmq'ōmkil'äk'a and
Q!ē'nälōsa have designs representing stars, the former wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qäla'xōsa, who face represents the
likeness of a salmon berry bush. The next border, Kul'lus (who
wants to have blankets first), wears the form of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, Ä'mäs'k, wears also head a mask repre-
senting a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called Hä'mäs'k!ōsa (to be eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as giving provisions and pur-
chased by the people whom she has robbed.

The ä'mäs'k, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is practised once by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the ä'mäs'k and was attacked by him in the 776
woods of the forest. When he returned, he told the people to clean 776
their houses and to strew them with clean cedar-bark as customary to
excess. Then he danced the ä'mäs'k and told to people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing it carved headdresses
with tufts of ermine skins, and to carry used rattles. The man,
taken up, returned to the sun. Ever since during the Bi'laola dance 614
the ä'mäs'k. Besides this, it is stated that heaven gave each clan its 424
crests. Each clan has its peculiar carvings which are used to the 532
ä'mäs'k only, and are otherwise kept a guarded secret, i. e., they are
the sacred possessions of each clan. All chiefs, however, wear the head- [542]
dress and use the crest clan, regardless of the [534]
carving they represent. Every time the said objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. Ancestral objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free-born has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and rank, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegiti- [547]
mate children, can not become ä'mäs'k. A person can not take a [542]
new carving, but must each until it is given him by his relatives— [115]
father, mother, or elder brother. Dan'ēlsa, the Indian, to whom I

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
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to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered it the NÄ'NÄ'LA dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark. Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the Dä'Ä'qoxa (fig. 200), the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that of BaxbakualanuXsi'wae of the Kwakiutl. Some NÄ'NÄ'LA do not bite people, but merely devour raw salmon or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who bite people will also devour corpses. The NÄ'NÄ'LA has to observe a number of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his house.

Fig. 200.

The o'ma (the laughter) and the dä'ma (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The o'ma "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dä'ma carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The o'ma and the dä'ma, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

If a person transgresses the laws of the kwäxi, for instance, when the NÄ'NÄ'LA gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted to the shamans, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shamans is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around